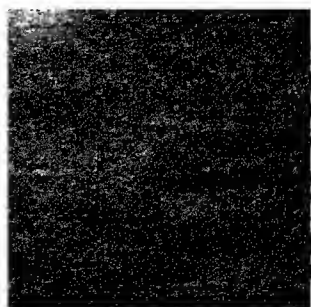


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THE WESTERN ASPECTS OF GANDHARA SCULPTURE

BY
H. BUCHTHAL

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ANNUAL LECTURE ON ASPECTS OF ART
HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

THE WESTERN ASPECTS OF GANDHARA
SCULPTURE

By H. BUCHTHAL

Read 11 July 1945

HISTORIANS of Indian art generally pass over the activities of the Gandhara school of sculpture with a few unkind words. Some authors leave this chapter out altogether, others apologize for including it; most of them argue that this school plays really no part in the eastern development, but is a feeble and provincial derivative of Greek or Roman sculpture, and may without serious damage be omitted from the history of the arts in India.

It is true that the artistic merits of most individual Gandhara sculptures compare unfavourably with any masterpiece of Indian art proper, and that their style had no succession on Indian soil. Nevertheless, this western interlude left a lasting mark on the subsequent development of Buddhist art. The early Buddhist schools, which had decorated the stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi, had glorified the Jatakas and the outstanding events in the Buddha's life by a lavish display of grandiose pageantry, but the Buddha himself was never shown. These artists had created a strangely unreal world in which exuberant narrative and rigid symbolism were combined to form an ensemble of convincing force of expression. It was the semi-foreign school of Gandhara which gave to Buddhism the human image of its divine founder, and introduced for the first time western rationalism into the narrative scenes.

The fact that the western ideas and formulas propagated by this school were eagerly taken up throughout Greater India shows that the whole Buddhist world was ready for these innovations—they are but a reflection in the artistic field of a spiritual development which in course of time completely transformed the main aspects of Buddhist religious thought. The Gandhara sculptures are the first expression in stone of a new conception of the Buddha, and of a new significance attributed to the traditional legends and tales from his life. The argument, sometimes encountered in scholarly works on Indian art, that

Gandhara had no influence on the eastern development except in the iconographical field, completely misses the point. This new iconography corresponds to a new stage of religious life in Buddhist India; and the sculptures, in spite of the comparatively low standard of their craftsmanship, stand at the beginning of a new era in the history of Buddhist art.

The figure types and formulas imported from the West were not selected at random. They are all representative of the same stage in the development of ancient art, and give expression to the conception of history and to the religious aspirations of one particular epoch in the history of the Greco-Roman world. To point out isolated instances of the borrowing of classical subject-matter in the art of Gandhara has no more than curiosity value, unless these borrowings are studied in their proper context. When we have discovered their historical significance we shall be able to see the achievement of the Gandhara school of sculpture in its right perspective.

There is ample evidence that the classical influence in Gandhara is not the result of Alexander's Indian campaign, or of the subsequent establishment of Greek kingdoms in Bactria and the Indus country. The new cycle of religious sculpture which came into being in Gandhara is based on the main achievement of the art of the Roman Empire, the narrative historical relief. The Roman influence is equally obvious in the secular products of the school, though they show a much lesser degree of understanding of classical subject-matter.

Those western works which reached India in any appreciable numbers and could be studied on the spot by the Gandhara craftsmen, were not specimens of monumental sculpture, but, in the first place, small objects which Roman merchants and soldiers could easily carry over long distances. A few examples of the minor and industrial arts of Rome have been found in the frontier province,¹ and one day we may be lucky enough to come across one that can be proved to have served as a model for an existing Indian work. These unpretentious objects of daily use, with scenes which bear no relation to Buddhist mythology, show an approach to classical art which is very different from that of the 'official' religious sculptures.

The Greeks and Romans adorned most of the things with which they surrounded themselves, whether at home or abroad, in an elaborate way. Their furniture, their household and kitchen goods, their plate and domestic utensils, their arms and

armour were decorated with figural or ornamental devices. Not only nature and the universe were full of divine life—the pictorial types they had devised for giving artistic expression to the epics and struggles, the achievements and passions of their gods and heroes, were so much part of their own lives that they were admitted into their houses and assembly halls, and adorned every object fit to carry a decoration.

From most ancient times silverwork played the dominant part. Unfortunately, very little has come down to us; the importance of this precious metal can only be guessed from literary sources, which expatiate at great length on the achievement of ancient artists in this field.² To a certain extent objects in bronze, terracotta, stucco, clay, and other less precious materials, showing decorations copied from models in silver, can compensate us for the loss of the originals. The decoration of Roman lamps, for instance, consists to a large extent of standard types copied from well-known works of art.³ It is a fascinating study to trace the reappearance of these decorative devices on similar small objects found in Gandhara.

A group of small circular trays offers excellent points of comparison. Similar dishes were in use in Greco-Roman Egypt and may have served similar domestic purposes.⁴ Generally, the lower half of these toilet-dishes is left blank, and curved inwards to receive some kind of cosmetics; the upper half is decorated with some ornamental or figural device. These trays allow us to follow in detail the migration of classical mythology to the East, and to study its transformation at the hands of Indian craftsmen. They cover almost the whole range of classical imagery in its various aspects.

We find purely ornamental motives like the scallop shell (Fig. 1), which derive from the decoration of Roman lamps (Fig. 2).⁵ Then there are genre-like love and farewell scenes as known from Roman funerary sculptures—on the tray reproduced here, for instance (Fig. 3), the husband touches the wife's shoulder exactly as in a farewell scene on the lid of a Roman sarcophagus (Fig. 4).⁶ Even the drapery motives correspond to those of the Roman model.

The fish-tailed monster on which rides a Nereid or some other mythological figure was a most popular subject on Hellenistic and Roman silver plates and dishes, as well as on floor mosaics, far into late Roman and Byzantine times.⁷ Quite a number of similar disks have been found in Gandhara, with female figures riding a great variety of sea monsters, with

lions', horses', wolves and griffons' heads (Fig. 5). The rider generally sits motionless on the monster's body, completely dressed but rather summarily treated; a few carved lines indicate the modelling of the face, the hair, and the drapery. A comparison of the lower hem of the garment with that of a provincial Hellenistic silver plaque (Fig. 6)⁸ shows clearly the transformation which the classical figure style has undergone. One of these disks is especially noteworthy because the rider is seen from the back, with the head in profile, and holding a child with her outstretched left hand (Fig. 7).⁹ A nude figure in a similar view, shown by its wings to be Eros, and riding a similar sea monster, occurs in the centre of a Roman silver patera (Fig. 8).¹⁰

A tray showing a nude male figure grasping with both outstretched arms the shoulders of two females (Fig. 9), repeats the scene representing a revel of Dionysos, Eros, and Silenos, as found on the cover of a Roman mirror case (Fig. 10).¹¹ The two companions of the god are fully dressed; the gesture of Eros' left hand, with the torch pointing downwards, is faithfully preserved. The striding motive of Dionysos himself has been simplified, though it is obvious in both works that he is dancing; the main feature, the outstretched arms put round the necks of his companions, is stressed even more than in the classical example.

Another dish shows a similar Dionysiac composition (Fig. 11),¹² which derives from multfigured representations of the god with his cortège, as represented, for instance, on a Roman floor mosaic (Fig. 12).¹³ Careful comparison will show that almost every gesture and movement has its counterpart in the Roman work: Dionysos himself is leaning on his followers rather than standing, his body forming a semicircular curve; two figures, one male, the other female, support the drunken god; two others of whom not much more than the heads are visible are in the background; finally there are the two figures on the extreme right and left, the right one seen from the back and turning his head. The figures and their dress are again simplified as on the other disks.

The next example shows a rather immobilized version of the Roman formula of the myth of Apollo and Daphne (Fig. 13).¹⁴ Almost all the essential features of a Roman floor mosaic (Fig. 14)¹⁵ recur on this tray: Daphne kneeling on the ground, supporting herself with one arm on some stone or rock, while Apollo, standing beside her, grasps her other arm with his right hand.

The flowing drapery of the god has become a solid mass falling down his back; there is even a reminiscence of the original character of the drapery in that part of the cloak which extends horizontally from his right shoulder. The piece of drapery flowing over Daphne's head has disappeared, but the lower part of her body is covered with some sort of cloak falling down from the left arm and hand so as to form a continuous line leading up to her feet. It seems that the copyist did not fully understand his classical model, and reproduced his general impression of the scene, without going too much into detail. This may account for the strange interrelation of figure and drapery motives.

The last specimen from this group which will be discussed here shows the toilet of Venus (Fig. 15),¹⁶ and derives from a late Roman work which must have been very similar to the lid of the Proiecta casket (Fig. 16), an Early Christian wedding box in silver dating from the late fourth century.¹⁷ Again the main figure has undergone considerable transformation. As in the other scenes which we have just studied, the artist seems reluctant to represent the nude human body. No clear distinction is made between the drapery which Venus holds aloft with her right hand, the shell in which she sits, and the mirror; the second knee has no organic connexion with the body and seems to be added as an afterthought. The male figure in attendance is a faithful reflection of the style of the other disks; it is a great pity that this work should have come down to us in this fragmentary state of preservation—the part which is now missing might have taught us more about the transformation of classical mythological motives as practised by these craftsmen.

One thing, however, should be clear from the evidence of the few examples we have studied. For the Indian artists these figures and scenes were genre motives of purely decorative value. Nothing of their mythological significance remains. Even on the Proiecta casket, the Early Christian work just mentioned, where this and other motives taken from classical mythology occur side by side with Christian signs and symbols, they have a particular meaning within the framework of the whole programme. Here they are copied as if the Roman models were imported by pure accident, without any appreciation of their message.¹⁸

The main achievement of the Gandhara school, the creation of a cycle of religious sculpture on Mediterranean lines, implies

a very different approach to classical imagery, and is connected with a different group of Roman monuments. The models are to be found among those representative products of Roman art which gave expression to the official state religion.

The lucid and all too human simplicity of classical Hellenic religion had long since given way to a complicated syncretism which incorporated numerous foreign elements of a contradictory character. Alexander the Great himself had tried to reconcile the native creeds of Syria and Egypt with the beliefs of his ancestors; in Roman times eastern cults found homes even in the capital of the Empire. The divinity of the emperor, the Roman version of Hellenistic ruler cult, is now proclaimed with all the glamour and elaborate ceremonial of the ancient oriental monarchies. The image of the emperor takes its place by the side of those of the Roman gods, demanding the same honour and respect;¹⁹ his apotheosis becomes a frequent subject on Imperial monuments; his official functions, his campaigns and victories over the barbarians are glorified in cycles of monumental sculpture.²⁰

When, in the second century, the extension of the Empire had passed its zenith, and its stability began to decline, people realized that the attempt to achieve permanence in the material sphere had failed. Their minds turned towards the more permanent values of the spirit, towards the mysterious and supernatural. The immortality of the soul, which for some hundred years past had been the main preoccupation of the philosophers, now became a subject for popular speculation, and the belief in life after death the keynote of the symbolical language of their funerary monuments.²¹ The people were longing for a spiritual creed, delivering them from the miseries of their earthly existence, and promising universal mercy and redemption. The Messianic theme of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, the prophecy of the birth of the heavenly child who was to be the prince of peace and mercy, and of the beginning of a golden age under the leadership of Augustus, had become part of the Imperial cult.²² Soon it was to assume a new significance in the eyes of the antique world which was thirsting for its saviour, and to be connected with the birth of Christ and the coming of His heavenly kingdom.

In a similar way the different pagan mystery cults prepared the masses for the message of the New Testament. During the first three centuries of our era, they gained more and more ground among the populations of the Empire. The forcing

house of this development was the army. The Roman legions stationed throughout the Empire and guarding its distant frontiers could easily establish and maintain contact with strange and barbarian mystery religions, such as the Thracian Horseman, or the Persian Mithra. The religion of Mithra, the hero who killed the bull and brought through this symbolical sacrifice eternal salvation to the initiated, spread with the Roman eagles all over the Empire. In the end it was conquered only by Christ Himself who blotted out human sin through His own supreme sacrifice.²³

It seems that the religious development in Buddhist India during the first centuries of our era was surprisingly similar. We know much less about the India of 2,000 years ago than about the ancient world. There are no historical texts, and inscribed monuments are few and far between. Our main sources of information for the North-West are Greek and Latin authors,²⁴ but most of them are silent on religious matters. The one thing which is certain is that during this period Buddhism underwent a significant change, which affected in the first place the conception of the nature of the Buddha himself.²⁵ This son of a local Indian king who had left his father's court and renounced his heritage in order to acquire knowledge and to practise resignation had shown his followers the way to Nirvana. During the early period Buddhism was essentially a clerical brotherhood. The first centuries of our era saw the rise of the Mahayana, a new school of religious thought which gradually superseded the old one throughout the greater part of the Buddhist world. The Buddha who in the early school had never been more than a human being, however perfected, is now accorded divine honours. He becomes a symbol of universal redemption, extending his compassion to all men without distinction; and he is served by Bodhisattvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and sinful humanity. By introducing this hierarchy of lower agents of salvation, Mahayana Buddhism becomes more generally accessible and more human than its predecessor.²⁶ The popular appeal of the divine promise of salvation may in a way be compared with that of the different mystery religions whose saviour-gods were worshipped by innumerable communities of initiated in the West. The teaching of the early Mahayana which attributed to the Buddha two bodies, one human and one quasi-eternal and divine,²⁷ is even reminiscent of the learned controversy of the Fathers about the divine nature of Christ.

In the Mahayana the Buddha's birth and early life are embellished with a wealth of legendary features pertaining to his divine origin and power,²⁸ which correspond to the standard motives of Hellenistic-Roman ruler-cult. The Romance of Alexander, Virgil's prophetic Eclogue predicting the birth of the heavenly child, Suetonius's glorification of Augustus,²⁹ and other Roman texts giving expression to the Imperial religion, all use the same language. The child is born of a divine father; the astrological constellation at the time of his birth is propitious; his future career is foreshadowed both before his birth and during his early years by mystical signs and miraculous happenings; he is acclaimed as the saviour inaugurating an age of peace and mercy. The parallel is so close that scholars have been tempted to establish a direct relationship between this official version of Roman emperor worship and the Buddhist stories told by Mahayana texts.³⁰

In the artistic sphere this relationship certainly exists. The Buddha was first represented in human shape when he had assumed divine status and had become an object of worship—in fact when there was the need for an image carrying a message similar to that of the cult image of the deified emperor. The first Buddha sculpture repeats the type of an early Imperial toga statue—perhaps it is even a conscious imitation of a statue of Augustus himself (Figs. 17, 18). Little modification was required to change the toga of the early Imperial period into the traditional garment of the Buddhist monk; the style of the statue conforms to the general development which can be observed whenever in Roman art a type created in the capital spread to the provinces.³¹ The Buddha statue is a 'provincial' work in much the same way as, for instance, an early toga statue found in the Rhineland (Fig. 19):³² compared with the Roman sculpture which is full of life and movement, the modelling is flat and more schematic, the movements are more restrained, the flow of the folds is more regular and symmetrical. The image of the sitting Buddha, on the other hand, repeats a native type which in early Buddhist art was used for a variety of purposes. In Gandhara it was elaborated into a counterpart of the standing god, and dressed with the same monk's garment which, as most examples show, was utterly unsuitable for a seated figure.³³

These two cult images stand at the beginning of Buddhist religious art in Gandhara. They play a prominent part in the new cycle of scenes from the life of the Buddha. Most of these

scenes had been represented before in Buddhist art; but never before had they been combined to form a logical and coherent cycle. At Sanchi, for instance, no general idea underlying the decoration of the gates of the Great Stupa has yet been discovered.³⁴ In Gandhara the whole range of Imperial Roman imagery was adapted to present the well-known events from the Buddha's life as a continuous story glorifying the redeeming power of the deified teacher, just as in Early Christian art Roman figure types and formulas are used to illustrate the miracles of Christ and the conversion of the earliest believers. It is this cycle on which Buddhist iconography has been based ever since.

These sculptures decorated the surfaces of stupas which have come down to us in ruins. No complete cycles have survived the destruction and neglect of the centuries. But the thousands of fragments which have come to light on the sites of ancient Buddhist monasteries all over Gandhara give us a fairly accurate idea of the nature of these cycles, of their origin, and their religious significance.

In a few instances classical genre scenes acquire a new meaning in Buddhist mythology. The ploughman with his yoke of oxen, for instance, well known from Greek and Roman coins, bronze and terracotta groups and decorative reliefs (Fig. 20),³⁵ serves to illustrate the Bodhisattva's First Meditation (Fig. 21):³⁶ the young prince attends a ploughing match and, suddenly realizing the hard lot of the toiling labourers and their straining animals, is filled with grief, and transported into a state of unconscious ecstasy. Another example is the birth of Chandaka, the Buddha's faithful servant, and Kanthaka, his favourite horse, who were born at the royal palace at the same time as their future master (Fig. 22).³⁷ In this relief two charming classical genre scenes are combined: the mare suckling her foal, and the mother with her child. The first one occurs, for instance, on a Hellenistic silver dish found in Russia (Fig. 23);³⁸ both are frequent on Roman mosaic pavements, and on the fifth-century mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople they are even seen side by side.³⁹

But, as a rule, the classical scenes selected by the Gandhara artists represented definite historical or mythological events of a significance similar to that of the Buddhist stories for which they were used. At the same time the artistic tradition of the early Buddhist school in India was adhered to whenever possible. The combination of classical and Indian elements produced some very remarkable results.

The Departure of the Buddha from his father's palace at Kapilavastu had been rendered by the early Buddhist school at Sanchi as a continuous narrative depicting the various stages of the journey with all the representative splendour due to this decisive event (Fig. 24).⁴⁰ But the Buddha himself is not shown. His presence is indicated by the traditional symbols, the royal umbrella above the horse while he is on horseback, the foot-steps when he has dismounted.

In Gandhara the event is represented by a single scene, with the Buddha on horseback in the centre (Fig. 29). There is no connexion between the solemn exaltation of the Sanchi narrative and this dry statement of facts. The group of the rider and his horse, however, existed in earlier Buddhist art—though of course it was never used to represent the Buddha; and a comparison with the female rider from a corner pillar of the Bharhut railing (Fig. 28)⁴¹ will show that the main features of our group are derived from the Indian tradition as established in the early Buddhist period. The proportions of rider and horse, the awkward sitting motive of the rider who nearly touches the horse's knee with his feet, his body, very plump and too small for the enormous head, hands and feet, are very much the same in both reliefs; so is the modelling of the horse's body and legs which are stiff in their joints as if carved in wood. Finally, even the piece of drapery flowing from the rider's left elbow recurs in Gandhara.

The pictorial type of the Buddha's Departure, on the other hand, is derived from the triumphal repertoire of Roman Imperial art.⁴² The emperor's triumphal departure, the *profectio Augusti*, is a common subject on Roman coins and medallions of the second and third centuries.⁴³ The same scheme is used for the *adventus Augusti*, his victorious entry into a city. He is preceded by a cursor, or a winged victory, and followed by a *pedisequus*. Some coins show, indeed, all the particular features of our group: the cursor in front turns back towards the rider, the emperor gives the salute with his right hand, and the *pedisequus* raises his standard with a gesture comparable to that of the Buddha's servant carrying the royal umbrella (Figs. 25, 26).

The *adventus* and *profectio* scenes on Roman coins and medallions are primarily commemorations of actual historical events; but at the same time they allude to the theological significance of the ceremonial entry. In the Imperial cult the emperor was acclaimed as the bringer of peace and forgiveness and saviour of the world, and his victorious arrival at the city gates was a

symbol of the coming of the Messiah. Because of its soteriological symbolism, the emperor's *adventus* commended itself as a worthy prototype for the triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; and Early Christian art readily availed itself of the Imperial formula (Fig. 27).⁴⁴ Our Departure scene in Gandhara, derived from the same pictorial type, has a similar double meaning: in the first place it is an historical narrative of an important event in the Buddha's life, and at the same time it is a symbol of his divine mission as the saviour of man.

Another institution of the Imperial cult, which, however, was not generally accepted before the third century, was the proskynesis or *adoratio*.⁴⁵ The proskynesis had been part of the Persian court ceremonial;⁴⁶ Arrian's story of Alexander's abortive attempt to introduce it at his court at Bactra is well known.⁴⁷ At first the Romans, like Alexander's Macedonians, considered the prostration before a living person as below the dignity of free men; and isolated attempts by certain emperors to enforce it were doomed to failure. An aureus of Postumus, early in the second half of the third century, seems to be the earliest official document showing a Roman citizen kneeling in adoration before the emperor;⁴⁸ soon afterwards, the proskynesis became an established feature in Rome.⁴⁹

In the art of the early Imperial period the proskynesis was reserved for captives and vanquished barbarians acknowledging defeat. We can distinguish two types: either the adoring person merely genuflects before the emperor and implores his mercy,⁵⁰ or he lies prostrate with his body bent forward and his head almost touching the ground. The first attitude occurs, for instance, on the fragment of a Trajanic frieze which to-day forms part of the decoration of the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 31); moreover, another vanquished enemy lies in the dust under the victorious emperor's horse.⁵¹ Again the relief records primarily an historical event, a Roman victory in battle over the Daces; and at the same time it is a pictorial symbol of Imperial Victory, recalling to mind the prophecy, attributed by Statius to the Sybil of Cumae, of eternal life and eternal victory for the emperor, who received the divine epithet of 'invictus'.⁵²

It is the second type of humble adoration which reappears in Early Christian art, which readily adopted the symbolism of Imperial Roman imagery for depicting the Messianic mission of Christ.⁵³ In a miniature painting of the Raising of Lazarus, for instance, the dead man's sisters lie prostrate before the Saviour appealing to His divine power (Fig. 30). The same scheme

occurs, moreover, in Gandhara, used identically for two different stories, the Dipankara Jataka (Fig. 32) and the Conversion of Angulimalya (Fig. 33).⁵⁴ In both scenes the central group is practically the same as in the Christian miniature: the standing Buddha, his right hand raised, addresses the adoring figure prostrate in front of him. There can be no doubt that the Buddhist and Christian works derive from a common prototype, and convey similar messages to the believer. The divine redeemer who brings salvation to mankind commands supernatural forces, and has the power to conquer death.

Neither of the two Buddhist scenes occur in earlier Buddhist art. But the continuous method of representation as practised by the early Buddhist schools of Bharhut and Sanchi is faithfully preserved: consecutive episodes from the same story are combined into a single sculpture and form a continuous narrative without any obvious partition between the different scenes.⁵⁵ This 'narrative style' in itself is of so common occurrence throughout the ancient world that no far-reaching conclusions should be drawn from its appearance at Sanchi or in Gandhara. But one particular feature of our Buddhist reliefs proves beyond doubt that here it was derived from a late antique model. Both these sculptures are not merely specimens of the continuous method in its usual form; in addition, the standing Buddha figure in each actually belongs to two different scenes. In the Jataka illustration the youth who has come to pay his respects to the Buddha Dipankara is first seen casting his bunch of flowers, and then prostrating himself in front of him (Fig. 32); in the Conversion scene (Fig. 33), both the attack of the murderer and his subsequent humiliation refer to the same Buddha figure. An identical scheme occurs in East Christian miniatures, in the Rotulus of Joshua, for instance, which is a tenth-century copy of an original five or more centuries older. Joshua, the hero of the story, meets the Angel of the Lord: first he challenges him, then, recognizing his heavenly nature, he falls to the ground in adoration (Fig. 34). The Angel, who is only shown once, in fact participates in both scenes. Obviously this device, which underlines the swift succession of two consecutive scenes in a continuous narrative, was in Gandhara taken over from the same classical scene which inspired the Christian miniature painting.

Throughout the existence of the Gandhara school the iconography of the single scenes is extremely stereotyped. There

are no regional differences, as in Early Christian art—or at least we have not yet learnt to see them. In very few instances only, more than one version of the same subject has come down to us. Where there is, moreover, stylistic evidence that these different versions reflect different stages in the evolution of the school, we are able to follow the development of pictorial types through the centuries, and trace the gradual change of their meaning as religious symbols. Unfortunately, this method, which yields remarkable results when applied to the study of Christian iconography, is not feasible on a similar scale in Gandhara. But in those instances where a comparison with a sequence of corresponding formulas evolved by contemporary western art is possible, we may hope to arrive at a fuller understanding of the significance of the iconographical development.

The story of Indra's visit to the Buddha, absorbed in meditation in his mountain retreat, had been represented by the early Buddhist school at Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, and Sanchi. The Buddha himself is of course invisible. At Bodh Gaya there is nothing but the empty cave in the mountain, his place of refuge, and, to the left, the Gandharva who is Indra's messenger, playing on his harp to announce his master's arrival: an historical event described purely by symbols (Fig. 35).⁵⁶ At Sanchi there is a more elaborate composition (Fig. 36), but its meaning is still very much the same. Above is the empty cave in the mountain, in the form of an Indian rock temple; strange monsters of various kinds are to be seen in the neighbourhood. In front of the cave Indra and his followers pay their respects to the Buddha. The person seen from the back is probably Indra himself.⁵⁷

This is the compositional scheme which reappears in Gandhara: the cave in the centre, and the visitors in front of it. But the general character of the sculpture and its meaning are now very different. The cave which occupies the greater part of the relief now houses an image of the sitting Buddha in meditation; and the story of Indra's visit is told with an abundance of detail (Fig. 37).⁵⁸

The Buddha occupies the centre with the immobility of an icon, separated from the rest by the sharp outline of the cave, which appears more as an artificial structure housing a cult image than as a mountain retreat cut in the living rock. Around the cave the whole mountain side has come to life. Animals of many kinds, peacefully living side by side, indicate that under the influence of the Blessed One the jungle has become a kind

of terrestrial paradise; innumerable divinities worship the Buddha, and 'throw heavenly flowers down on him from the skies'.⁵⁹ At the foot of the cave, in a kind of predella, the arrival of Indra is told at full length. On the extreme right, his elephant, still on its knees, had just allowed him to dismount; the royal umbrella indicates the presence of the god. Indra and his wife are among the kneeling figures looking up to the cave in adoration. Outside the cave, on the Buddha's right, is Panchasikha, the harpist.

This sculpture has an inscription dating it in the first half of the third century, and is a comparatively early work of the school.⁶⁰ But we know that the tradition was alive until the very end of Gandhara art in the fifth century. A magnificent relief which is at least 200 years younger, allows us not only to trace the development of style during that period, but also the spiritual development to which this iconographical scheme was subject (Fig. 38).⁶¹ We are reminded of Hiuen Tsiang's description of the locality where the visit of Indra took place. 'The precipices and valleys of the mountain which contains the cave are dark and gloomy', he says. 'Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation.'⁶² The academic rigidity of the earlier work, the clear separation of the divine and the human spheres have disappeared. The central figure is no longer isolated and unapproachable like an icon; the cave, with a more natural outline which closely follows the forms of the Buddha's body, connects him with the surrounding narrative rather than separates him. The whole scheme appears at the same time more vigorous and more humanized; it seems that after the divine nature of the Buddha was firmly established, his human nature has come into its right again. The idyllic scenes round the cave, too, are more animated than in the earlier relief. Lion and antelope live in the forest as good neighbours, calling to mind Virgil's prophecy of universal peace and plenty during the coming golden age; a small monkey imitates the reflecting attitude of the Buddha, who shows the way to salvation to all creatures, high and low. Unfortunately the lively pageant formed by the arrival of Indra at the foot of the cave can no longer be identified in detail.

In these two sculptures the Buddha figure has become the centre of an historical narrative telling one particular incident from his life. The transformation of the early Buddhist versions of Bodhi Gaya and Sanchi is again due to the reception of western ideas, and has a close parallel in the development of

religious art in the West. From time immemorial the ancient world had known the cult of divinities living in caves. In Greco-Roman reliefs the nymphs, goddesses of grottoes and mountain sources, were represented inhabiting these popular places of worship. Symbols of the living nature surround the entrance to the caves: river gods, Pan with his pipes, peacefully grazing goats (Fig. 39).⁶³

In the Roman period the scheme of the cave sculpture was developed into a representative cult image by the adherents of the Mithraic creed. Just as the nymphs in the classical period—and as Buddha practising meditation—Mithra is worshipped in caves and grottoes. Mithra, who brings salvation to the community of initiated by sacrificing the bull, is represented in the centre of the cave performing the heroic task (Fig. 40)—just as the Buddha in Gandhara shows the way to salvation by self-sacrifice. The idea of the divine redeemer, unknown to classical antiquity, has found pictorial expression in a new type of cult image⁶⁴ which, to the followers of Mithra and Buddha alike, carries a similar promise.

Many other elements of our Gandhara reliefs recur on those Mithraic monuments which, in the last instance, derive from sculptures of idyllic grottoes inhabited by nymphs. Here is the wooded mountain side with the Hellenistic landscape; trees, birds, a reclining mountain god.⁶⁵ Moreover, in most instances, the central subject includes accessory figures, which are primarily of symbolical significance, but which introduce a narrative element into the sacrificial scene: the representative cult image is at the same time an historical narrative of the decisive episode in the god's life, told in every conceivable detail.⁶⁶ Finally, on the more elaborate sculptures, there is a whole cycle illustrating relevant symbolical events in Mithra's life from his birth to his ascension; in some cases it appropriately assumes the shape of a triumphal arch framing the heroic act of salvation in the centre (Fig. 40).⁶⁷

We have seen that this kind of narrative cycle of the life of an historical or religious hero, in which every single item has a specific symbolical significance, is a creation of Roman sculpture of the post-classical period. It tells the representative events in the emperor's life, and at the same time gives expression to the ceremonial symbolism of the Roman state religion. In Mithraic art the whole cycle, and thus the whole *credo* of the Mithraic religion, is contained in a single cult image. But in Gandhara there is a comprehensive cycle of single scenes. They all proclaim

the divine status of their hero and his power of redemption, using the same language borrowed from Roman monuments. The Visit of Indra is only one episode out of a long story. Its ultimate models can be found among classical reliefs pertaining to grotto cults; but it is not improbable that its immediate source of inspiration was the Mithraic stele. This may be the reason why in Buddhist art the Visit of Indra has become a similar representative cult image, conveying a similar religious message: the belief in after-life expressed through an historical narrative.

In Mithraic art we can distinguish between those monuments in which the narrative character prevails, and those in which it has become completely submerged by the symbolical content of the image. The different versions of the Visit of Indra in Gandhara offer again close parallels which allow us to trace the role of the narrative element in the history of the school.

The type of Mithraic relief usual in the eastern provinces of the Empire, especially along the lower Danube where important Roman garrisons were stationed, shows the central image surrounded on all sides by the cycle of scenes from the life of the god (Fig. 41).⁶⁸ They are on top of the cave as well as at the bottom where they form a kind of predella, just as the arrival of Indra and his cortège in our Gandhara sculpture. They form a continuous narrative full of life and movement, including the central scene which is here just one episode among others. The two torch-bearers face each other, turning towards the centre, and are thus brought into relation with the mystical sacrifice performed by the god. Mithra himself turns his head backwards, looking towards the left-hand part of the scene. The whole composition contains more real action than static symbolism: it is an epic narrative telling the dramatic events in a heroic life.

Another Mithraic sculpture from the same part of eastern Europe presents a very different picture (Fig. 42).⁶⁹ Mithra and the torch-bearers appear in austere and motionless frontality; their gestures do not perform actions, they only convey a religious message. Most of the accessory features of the central subject have gone, and in place of the continuous narrative there are only three single scenes, isolated by separating arches, and containing only those elements which are strictly necessary for an understanding of their symbolical meaning. This is mainly a religious document, without any narrative qualities. Nothing remains here of the classical enjoyment of worldly life and heroic action, of the love of nature and beauty.

There is a relief of the Visit of Indra, which though retaining the main features of the earlier sculptures, represents the first step towards a similar suppression of the narrative element (Fig. 43).⁷⁰ The Buddha appears more isolated than ever, like an icon in its shrine. The elaborate description of Indra's arrival at the foot of the cave has gone; and the figures round it, including Indra and his wife and Panchasikha the harpist, are not part of a story, but of an adoration scene. The same is true of the divinities throwing their flowers from the skies. The sculpture conveys very much the impression of a devotional image. Only the landscape setting is still the same: the mountain covered with trees and flowers, and the animals living peacefully together; at the top the monkey in meditation, at the bottom the lion and antelope.

In the next sculpture (Fig. 45), nothing of the particular features of the preceding reliefs is left. The subject has been adapted to fit the compositional scheme of the sitting Buddha surrounded by symmetrical groups of disciples, which in Gandhara is used for a great variety of different scenes; in some cases the particular identity of the subject represented can be established only by a meticulous study of iconographical detail. Here, the Buddha image, completely self-centred, is shown in its cave. The other elements—the formation of the rock around the mountain retreat, the gandharva to the left prominently displaying his harp, Indra with his elaborate head-dress, the elephant at the foot of the cave, and the umbrella, sign of Indra's royal dignity—help us to recognize the scene. But they are independent of one another, and not part of a story; they are nothing but different symbols of identification. They make the believer recognize the sculpture as the Visit of Indra—not as an event among others in the Buddha's life, but as one of the fundamental facts of the Buddhist faith carrying a particular theological message. The language of these symbols—though of course not the significance of the image—has come pretty near that of the earliest representations of the scene at Bodh Gaya and Sanchi, which did not yet know the Buddha in human shape.

It is significant that at this late stage which saw the triumph of the anti-narrative style in Gandhara, the symmetrical composition is sometimes given up in favour of a revival of the Early Buddhist and pre-narrative scheme of Bodh Gaya. A sculpture representing the same subject (Fig. 44),⁷¹ which clearly consists of two parts of equal importance, differs from the Bodh

Gaya relief (Fig. 35) only by the inclusion of the human Buddha in the interior of the cave, and by the addition of Indra who appears behind the harpist. Indra is on a much smaller scale than the other two persons: he is only on the point of arriving. The spiritual content of the scene would be quite as clear even without his presence; it is sufficiently expressed through the figures of the Buddha and the harpist who in this combination would recall to the mind of all the faithful the true message of the 'Visit of Indra'.

This language of symbols is most obvious in a sculpture which comes from the cycle of the Stupa of Sikri (Fig. 46).⁷² Most of the elements of the old narrative are present; but they do not combine to make a story. The Buddha in the cave has no relationship to his surroundings; the animals—lion, gazelle, ibex—rather symbolize the terrestrial paradise than live in it; the harpist and the two divinities in the skies perform empty gestures, not actions. The end of the development shows the victory of the spirit over the worldly joy of dramatic action and epic narrative—in the Mithraic and Buddhist works alike. This is more truly religious art than all the half-pagan works we have considered so far; but the heritage of antiquity is now being lost. We are on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

It is interesting to note that the history of Early Christian sculpture shows a parallel development. When victorious Christianity had conquered the disintegrating Roman Empire and was firmly established as the triumphal state religion, Christian art was at last able to enter upon the true heritage of Rome. Up to then its main task had been to decorate funerary monuments with unpretentious abbreviations of biblical scenes which had a symbolical bearing on the ultimate fate of the person buried in the tomb.⁷³ Now the pagan narrative tradition is revived, the symbolical scenes acquire historical significance and take their appropriate places in a representative cycle of the martyrdom and triumph of Christ and His Church. The second half of the fourth century proclaims the victory of Christianity with all the impressiveness and monumental hero-worship of the Roman narrative and historical relief. New subjects are introduced into sarcophagus sculpture, such as the *traditio legis*, the handing over of the Law to St. Peter, which stands for the foundation of the Christian Church.⁷⁴ The sarcophagus of St. Ambrogio in Milan, for instance, shows this scene (Fig. 47) and the *Maiestas Domini* on the fronts; relevant

episodes from the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs, forerunners of Christ and of His work of salvation, on the lateral faces; and the Adoration of the Magi, and three young men refusing to render divine honours to the emperor's image⁷⁵ on the cover. The complementary scenes are told for their narrative qualities as well as for their significance within this monumental theological programme. The subject of the sarcophagus is no longer the redemption of husband and wife, who are seen kneeling inconspicuously at the feet of the risen Christ, but the greatness of the Church on earth and in heaven; its spiritual power is glorified in the worldly language of Imperial Roman art.

However, this 'Renaissance' of the age of Theodosius⁷⁶ did not last long. The series of fifth-century sarcophagi preserved at Ravenna shows the gradual decline of the pagan narrative tradition, which is quickly overtaken by the spiritual and symbolical conceptions of the *ecclesia ex circumcisione*. The *traditio legis* appears again (Fig. 48), but the monumentality and splendour have gone from the scene. Nothing of the action and the narrative qualities of the earlier sarcophagus remains. Christ is more majestic, and isolated from the other figures; the rows of apostles on both sides have been omitted; St. Peter's expressive eagerness in receiving the Law is intended to underline the theological significance of the subject. The Mountain of Paradise is more prominent, and the locality moreover indicated by two palm-trees framing the central group. Husband and wife are represented on the same scale as the other figures, as if they were part of the scene and of the message it conveys.

Finally, the love of purely symbolical expression prevails in those late sarcophagi from which all human figures are banned (Fig. 49). The lamb symbol, derived from the Revelation of St. John,⁷⁷ shows that the old Jewish hatred of a monumental rendering of the divine has come into its own again. Three lambs between two palm-trees, the central one with a nimbus and standing on a hill out of which come the four rivulets, is all that is left of the traditional composition of Christ between Peter and Paul. This new symbol of Christ's majesty is inspired by a religious feeling which has completely renounced its pagan heritage. We have reached a stage in Christian art which even surpasses anything to be found on Buddhist and Mithraic monuments.

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide whether there was any direct influence on a large scale

of Early Christian sculpture on the art of Gandhara, or whether the Christian and Buddhist works present an independent development, the disintegration of the common classical legacy along similar lines and with the same final results. The student of the history of religions is faced with the same problem. Several accounts in the Gospels of the miracles of Christ have exact parallels in the Mahayana scriptures⁷⁸—the Feeding of the Five Thousand, for instance, or the story of Peter walking on the Sea; and it is obvious that their symbolical significance in the West and East is very much the same. These miracle tales may have been common property of different races and peoples from times immemorial; but a direct influence of early Christianity or perhaps some western mystery religion on the Mahayana can by no means be excluded. Matters may have been very similar in the artistic field.

Some comparisons between Early Christian and Gandhara sculpture reveal indeed extraordinary similarities for which no parallels exist in pagan Roman art. One side of the bridal casket of Proiecta, for instance, shows the bride sitting in the centre, both her hands raised, and flanked by two attendants (Fig. 50);⁷⁹ the figures are framed by an alternating system of arches and pediments supported by columns. On a Gandhara relief the Buddha is seen sitting in the centre, with Indra and Brahma to his right and left (Fig. 51). The figures are separated by columns; the central one is framed by an elongated arch, and the other two by hybrid structures of a kind very usual in Gandhara art, and deriving from classical pediments. The decorative system of showing single figures or scenes under alternating arcades and pediments is in the last instance derived from a group of pagan sarcophagi;⁸⁰ and it is possible that the Christian and Buddhist works go back to a common source of this kind. But it would be very difficult to adduce any pagan sculpture showing the same composition with this extraordinary similarity of the attending figures and their gestures. Moreover, the figure of the Christian bride should be compared with a Gandhara sculpture representing a bearded man, of the type of St. Peter in Early Christian art, sitting in the European fashion, with both his hands raised (Fig. 52). I do not think that it is possible to produce any pagan works as near to these two Gandhara sculptures as the Christian bridal casket.

There are numerous Gandhara friezes with the Buddha seated among his followers and disciples, who stand or cower on the ground in rows at his sides (Fig. 53). Again, there are the

closest similarities to Christian sarcophagi showing the seated Christ surrounded by standing or sitting apostles turning with comparable gestures towards the central figure (Fig. 54).⁸¹ Here, too, the possibility that the Buddhist and Christian works derive from a common model cannot be altogether excluded. But in one particular instance, the decorative system of a Christian sarcophagus can be proved to have been copied in Gandhara. Sarcophagi with rows of apostles, or a sequence of christological scenes, separated from each other by trees, are a common feature in Early Christian art (Fig. 56),⁸² but no pagan sarcophagi of this type are known to exist. Those late Gandhara friezes showing the Buddha surrounded by monks (Fig. 55), or a row of Buddha figures, framed by similar trees, derive without doubt from Christian models. It is impossible to say at the present moment whether these are exceptional cases, or whether the later stages of the Gandhara school should to any large extent be traced back to Christian prototypes.

More than any other aspect of ancient art the Gandhara school of sculpture makes us conscious of the inherent unity of artistic achievement in a world which was essentially one—though it extended far beyond the reach of Greek and Roman arms, to the limit of ancient geographical knowledge. Politically, Gandhara was never part of the ancient world. Alexander's short-lived dream of world-domination had carried a Greek army even beyond the Indus. But he had come as a hostile invader only, and after his military grip had ceased Hellenism left practically no traces in the Indus countries. To the end of antiquity and beyond, India remained to the Mediterranean peoples what it had been to the chroniclers of Alexander's campaign: the land of marvels and of incredible deeds of nature and of man. The Romans never attempted to enter upon Alexander's heritage. Their legions stopped on the banks of the Euphrates, 600 miles from the frontiers of the Kushan Empire. Gandhara never knew them as enemies or conquerors. The chief aim of Roman policy in the East was the safety of the trade routes. Roman art reached the monasteries of the North-West not through hostile armies of occupation, but through peaceful traders and caravans. The classical influence in Gandhara was not imposed from outside—it is the result of an evolution of religious ideas, of a spiritual development which corresponds to that of the latest stages in the history of the ancient world, and which looked to the West for guidance in

artistic matters. And this is why the Roman achievement was accepted in its entirety. My task has not been to accumulate single instances of imitation of classical subject-matter, but to show the significance which Roman art as a whole could assume on foreign soil if its message was fully realized.

The mark it left on the East lives on to the present day. The Gandhara interlude was the decisive break in the history of Buddhist art. The decorative ensembles of the early Buddhist school betray all too openly their 'secular' origin and the casual character of their programmes, which were not established by the Buddhist Church but had to comply with the wishes of individual patrons.⁸³ The sculpture of Gandhara was primarily a monastic art. It was a conscious means of religious propaganda, and firmly controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities. Gandhara presented the Buddhist world for the first time with a full cycle of narrative scenes forming a consistent theological programme, and carrying a religious message of universal popular appeal. This message, similar to that of the mystery religions of late antiquity and to that of Early Christianity itself, is conveyed to the faithful in the same language of pictorial types—the language first created by Imperial Roman art to glorify the divinity of the emperor.

It was the mission of Gandhara to transmit these western formulas to the native Buddhist schools in India. The North-West itself took no part in the later history of Buddhist art. The final stages of Gandhara sculpture show a decline of the narrative tradition which corresponds to the disintegration of the classical heritage in the Mediterranean world. The development we have traced here is the transition from ancient to medieval art—in Europe as in Asia.

NOTES

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1. Cf. G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1937, p. 255; H. Buchthal, 'The Haughton Collection of Gandhara Sculpture', in *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxxvi, 1945, p. 66, pl. I, B.
2. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the British Museum*, London, 1921, pp. xiv ff.
3. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, London, 1914, p. xxviii.
4. Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt), London, 1927, pl. xxxiv and p. 37, with further literature.
5. Walters, *Greek and Roman Lamps*, op. cit., no. 721, pl. xxiv.
6. Sarcophagus with the myth of Endymion in the Museo Capitolino: H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of ancient Sculptures preserved in the municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 313 ff.; pl. 78. The lid is not the original one.
7. Cf. Combaz, op. cit., p. 147; D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, x, Baltimore, 1941, p. 168, with further literature; L. Matzulevitch, *Byzantinische Antike*, Leipzig, 1929, pls. 6, 19, 20, 38 ff.
8. Here reproduced after Smirnov, *Oriental Silverwork* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1909, no. 285, pl. cx.
9. First published in *ASIAR* for 1928-9, pl. xx, 10.
10. Walters, *Silver Plate*, op. cit., no. 77, pl. viii; a similar dish in the Benaki Museum, Athens: G. Brett, 'Formal Ornament on Late Roman and Early Byzantine Silver', in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xv, 1939, pl. vii.
11. Walters, *Silver Plate*, op. cit., no. 70, pl. viii.
12. Peshawar Museum, no. 989.
13. G. Lafaye, *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule*, Paris, 1909, i, no. 174.
14. First published in *ASIAR* for 1929-30, pl. xv, 1.
15. A Blanchet, *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule*, Paris, 1909, ii, no. 1051; cf. Val. Müller, 'Die Typen der Daphnedarstellungen', in *Römische Mitteilungen*, xlv, 1929, pp. 59 ff.
16. Peshawar Museum, no. 1103.
17. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities . . . in . . . the British Museum*, London, 1901, no. 304, pl. xv; cf. also St. Poglayen-Neuwall,

'Über die ursprünglichen Besitzer des spätantiken Silberfundes vom Esquilin u. seine Datierung', in *Römische Mitteilungen*, xlv, 1930, pp. 124 ff.

18. A number of these disks have been found in the Sirkap area of Taxila during the excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall, and following his classification of the different strata through consecutive types of masonry, they have been dated in the Bactrian-Greek or Parthian period (cf. Sir John Marshall's excavations reports in the volumes of the *ASIAR*). This early date has up to now been generally accepted (cf. L. Bachhofer, 'On Greeks and Sakas in India', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxi, 1941, pp. 224 ff.). Sir John Marshall himself, in his most recent publications, has abandoned this rigid stratification system (cf. his *Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed., Delhi, 1936, p. 45 f., and *ASIAR* for 1930-4, p. 159). His doubts are confirmed by the fact that even those disks which were found in the lowest strata at Taxila reproduce mythological scenes of typically Roman iconography. They can hardly be of an earlier date than the second century A.D.; some may indeed be much later. It would be an urgent task to establish a revised chronology of Taxila, based on the results of Sir John Marshall's excavations.
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20. Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915, pp. 85 ff.
21. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942.
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23. F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1913, pp. 198 ff.; F. Saxl, *Mithras*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 84 ff.
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- ✓ 25. Cf. the article 'Buddhism' by de la Vallée Poussin in *The Legacy of India*, ed. G. T. Garratt, Oxford, 1937, pp. 162 ff.
26. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, ii, 1913, p. 183 f.; and the remarks made on a similar occasion by M. Schapiro in *Ars Islamica*, x, 1943, p. 144.
27. de la Vallée Poussin, op. cit., p. 181.
28. Winternitz, op. cit., pp. 188 ff.
29. Taylor, op. cit., p. 232.
30. W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 112 ff.
31. H. Buchthal, 'The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture', in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, xix, 1942-3 (issued 1945), p. 26 f.
32. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs . . . de la Germanie romaine*, Paris, 1931, no. 17, p. 16; L. Hahl, *Zur Stilentwicklung der provinzialrömischen Plastik in Germanien und Gallien*, Darmstadt, 1937, pl. 24, 1.
33. Buchthal, *Foundations*, op. cit., p. 28. On the squatting Celtic god cf. P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques*, Gand, 1942, pp. 21 ff.; P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford, 1944, p. 5 f.
34. Cf. Combaz, op. cit., p. 70 f.
35. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs . . . de la Gaule romaine*, v, 1913, p. 263; A. S. F. Gow, 'The ancient Plough', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxiv, 1914, pp. 249 ff., fig. 9. Cf. also E. Wooler, *The Roman Fort at Piercebridge, County Durham*, Frome, 1917, p. 151 f.

36. A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, i, Paris, 1905, p. 340, fig. 175; H. Hargreaves, *The Buddha Story in Stone*, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 13 ff.
37. Foucher, op. cit., p. 316 f.; Hargreaves, op. cit., p. 11.
38. Smirnov, op. cit., no. 69, pl. XL.
39. G. Brett, 'The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, pls. 11, 13; for further literature see p. 37 f.
40. Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 203, pl. 40.
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61. Sir John Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila: The Stupas and Monasteries at*

- Jaulian*, Calcutta, 1921 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 7), p. 40, pl. xviii a. Its date can be fixed through a comparison with the stucco images from the same site which show the same style.
62. Samuel Beal (transl.), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, Boston, 1885, p. 180.
63. F. Saxl, op. cit., p. 23 f. with further literature.
64. Ibid., p. 52 f.
65. Ibid., p. 23, fig. 84.
66. Ibid., fig. 66.
67. Ibid., p. 40.
68. Ibid., fig. 97.
69. Ibid., fig. 98.
70. Foucher, op. cit., fig. 246; Majumdar, op. cit., Part II: *The Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhara*, p. 62.
71. Lahore Museum, no. 2015.
72. Foucher, op. cit., fig. 247.
73. Hanns-Ulrich v. Schönebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag u. seine Nachfolge* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, x), Città del Vaticano, 1935, p. 40.
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83. Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, op. cit., p. 153.



FIG. 1. Toilet Tray. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 2. Roman Lamp. London, British Museum



FIG. 3. Husband and Wife. Toilet Tray. Haughton Collection



FIG. 4. Husband and Wife. Sarcophagus Lid. Detail. Rome, Museo Capitolino

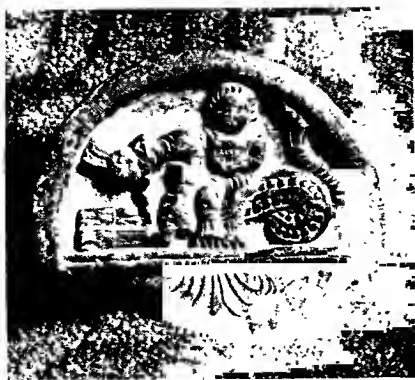


FIG. 5. Female Figure on Sea Monster.
Haughton Collection



FIG. 6. Female Figure on Sea Monster.
Leningrad, Hermitage



FIG. 7. Female Figure on Sea Monster.
Taxila Museum



FIG. 8. Roman Patera. London,
British Museum



FIG. 9. Dionysiac Scene. Calcutta, Indian Museum



FIG. 10. Cover of Roman Mirror-Case. London, British Museum



FIG. 11. Dionysiac Scene. Peshawar Museum



FIG. 12. Roman Floor Mosaic. Lyons Museum



FIG. 13. Apollo and Daphne.
Taxila Museum



FIG. 14. Roman Floor Mosaic.
Rouen Museum



FIG. 15. Toilet of Venus.
Peshawar Museum



FIG. 16. Casket of Proiecta. Detail of
Lid. London, British Museum



FIG. 17. Standing Buddha.
Peshawar Museum



FIG. 18. Augustus Statue from
Prima Porta. Rome, Terme
Museum



FIG. 19. Roman Toga Statue.
Wiesbaden, Landesmuseum



FIG. 20. Ploughing Scene, Sarcophagus Relief.
Formerly Luxembourg



FIG. 22. Birth of Chandaka and Kanthaka. Lahore Museum

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FIG. 21. The First Meditation, from Sikri Stupa.
Lahore Museum



FIG. 23. Hellenistic Silver Bowl. Detail. Leningrad, Hermitage

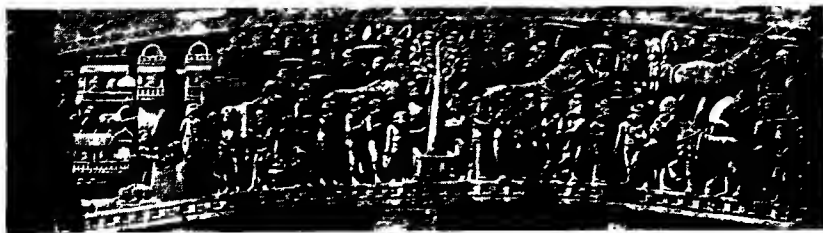


FIG. 24. The Great Renunciation. Sanchi, Great Stupa, Eastern Gate



FIG. 25. Profectio Augusti.
Roman Coin



FIG. 26. Adventus Augusti.
Roman Coin

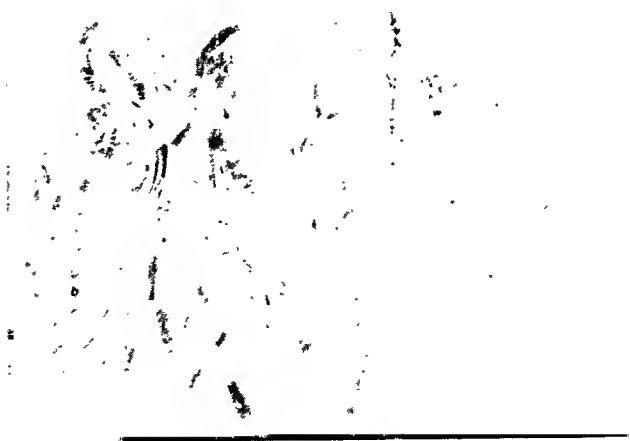


FIG. 27. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. Detail of Sarcophagus.
Rome. Lateran Museum



FIG. 28. Detail from Railing of Bharhut Stupa. Calcutta, Indian Museum



FIG. 29. The Great Renunciation. Calcutta, Indian Museum



FIG. 30. Raising of Lazarus. Detail from a Greek Manuscript Illustration. Rossano, Cathedral



FIG. 31. Dacian Battle. Rome, Arch of Constantine



FIG. 32. Dipankara Jataka. Lahore Museum



FIG. 33. Conversion of Angulimalya. Peshawar Museum



FIG. 34. Joshua meets the Angel. Vatican Library MS. Pal. Gr. 431



FIG. 35. The Visit of Indra.
Stone Hedge of Bodhi Gaya



FIG. 36. The Visit of Indra.
Sanchi, Great Stupa, Northern
Gate

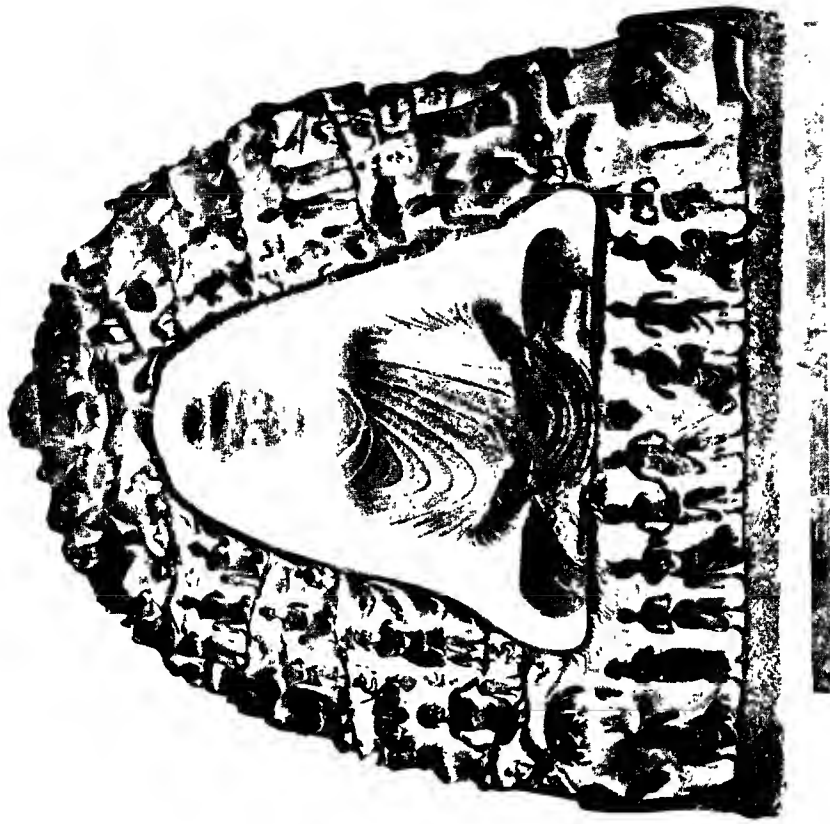


FIG. 37. The Visit of Indra, Peshawar Museum



FIG. 38. The Visit of Indra. Taxila Museum



FIG. 39. Relief of the Nymphs from Cave of Vari

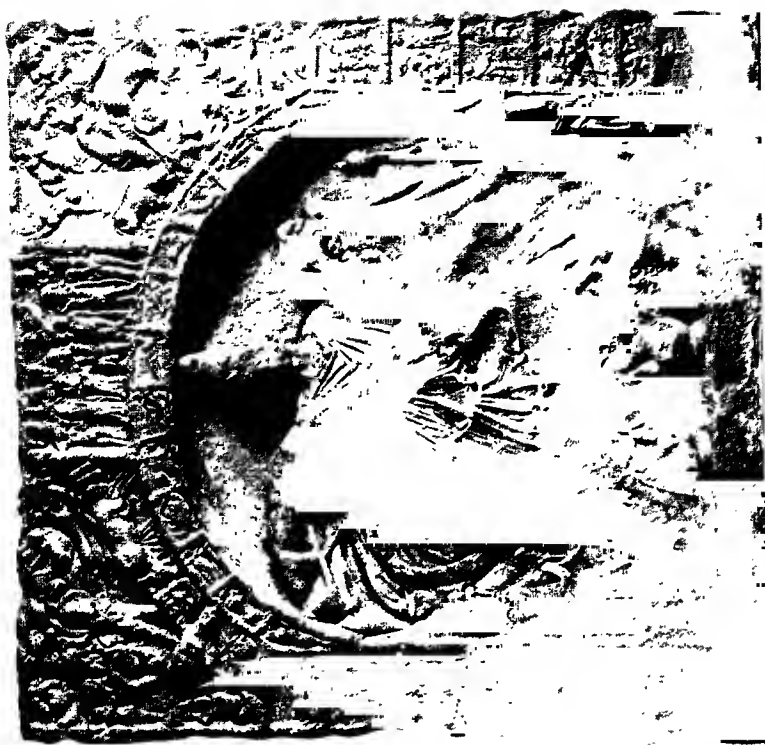


FIG. 40. Mithraic Relief. Karlsruhe, Landesmuseum



FIG. 42. Mithraic Relief. Sofia, National Museum



FIG. 41. Mithraic Relief. Hernanstadt Museum

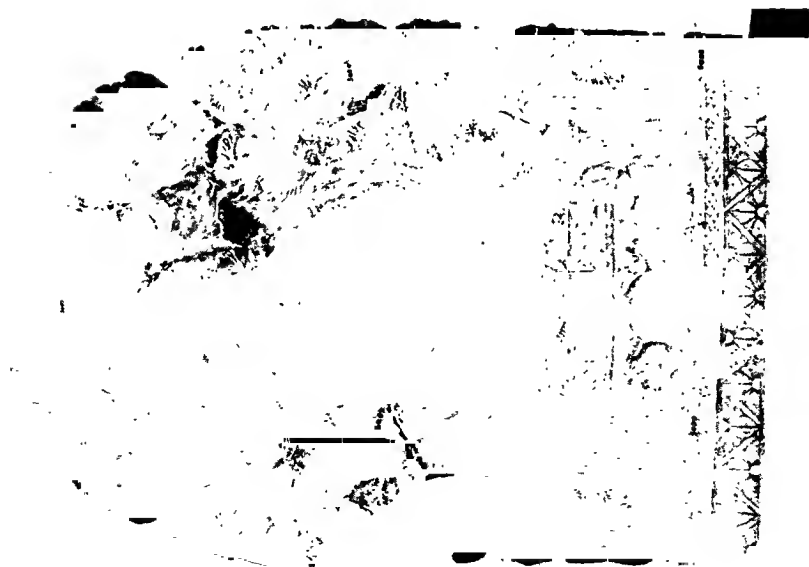


FIG. 43. The Visit of Indra. Calcutta, Indian Museum



FIG. 44. The Visit of Indra. Lahore Museum



FIG. 45. The Visit of Indra. London, British Museum



FIG. 46. The Visit of Indra, from Sikri Stupa. Lahore Museum

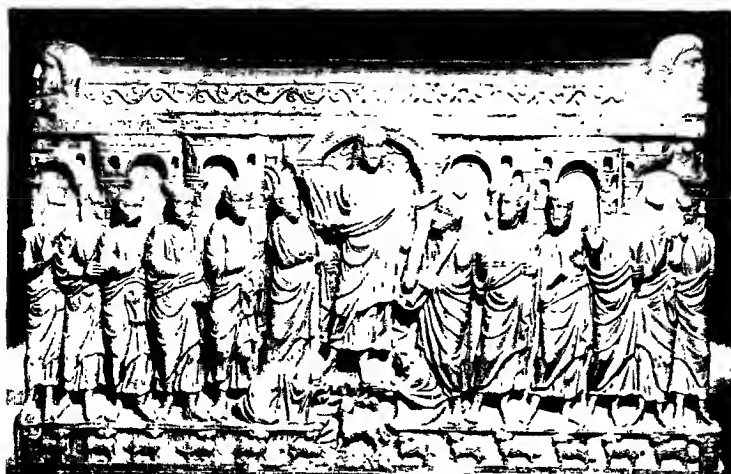


FIG. 47. Traditio Legis. Sarcophagus. Milan, S. Ambrogio



FIG. 48. Traditio Legis. Sarcophagus. Ravenna Museum



FIG. 49. Christian Sarcophagus. Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia



FIG. 50. Casket of Proiecta. Detail. London, British Museum

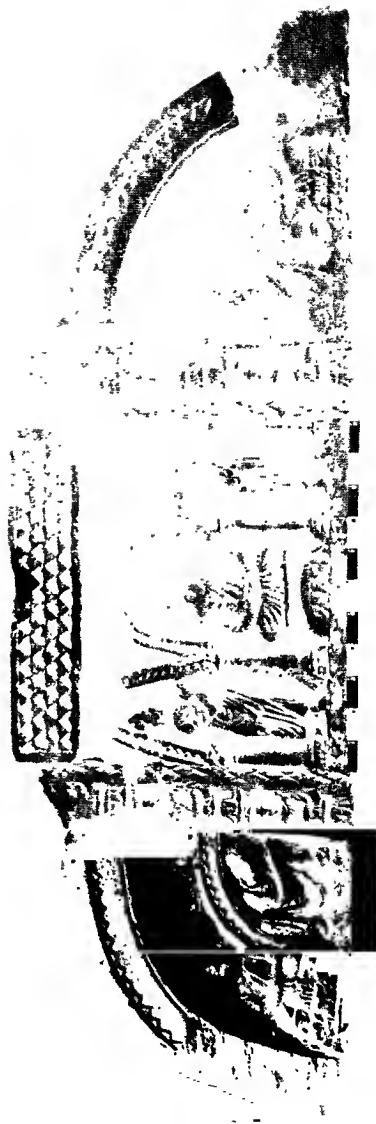


FIG. 51. Buddha between Indra and Brahma. Peshawar Museum



FIG. 52. Gandhara Sculpture. Houghton Collection

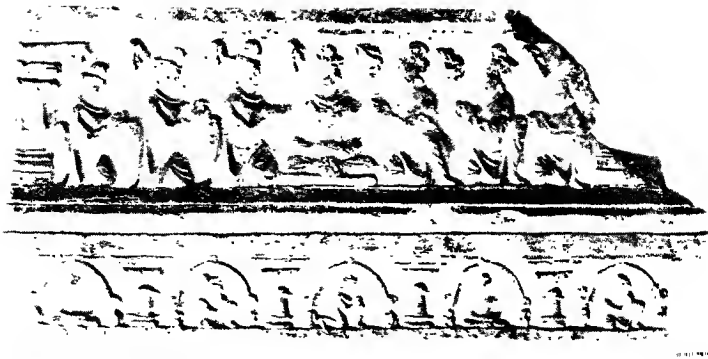


FIG. 53. Worship of the Buddha. Lahore Museum



FIG. 54. Christ between Apostles. Sarcophagus. Paris, Louvre



FIG. 55. Buddha between Monks. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 56. Christian Sarcophagus. Rome, Lateran Museum

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